# AIR WAR COLLEGE DIRECTORATE OF NONRESIDENT STUDIES AIR UNIVERSITY

8TE Edition

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMBINED BOMBER OFFENSIVE IN EUROPE DURING WORLD WAR II, 1942-1945

by

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EXHIBIT

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# CERTIFICATE

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I have read and understand the Academic Integrity Section of the Program Guide I certify that I have not used another student's research work and that the creative process of researching, organizing, and writing this research report represents only my own work. I have read the instructions regarding purpose, scope, formet and content of this effort and have accomplished the research paper in accordance with the appropriate Research Report Review Checklist.

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#### SECTION I

### INTRODUCTION

The Anglo-American Combined Bomber Offensive (hereinafter referred to as "CBO") during World War II was selected as a 1/2 cffes strategy of massive and systematic bombing of German war related factories and cities in order to destroy the German military, industrial and economic system and to undermine the morale of the German people "to a point where their capacity for armed resistance (would be) fatally weakened." (8:135; 9:97; 10:28; 1:80) This paper analyzes the military strategy of the CBO using the six basic questions history suggests that strategist must ask before war (the "Crowl Questions") and then evaluates the air campaign strategy using the "Principles of War" as a framework. The campaign strategy using the "Principles of War" as a framework.

This framework is useful to analyze the development of a official historical military strategy by examining the impact of factors, of Not beginning with the threat confronting a nation or coalition of nations, on the national interests involved, then how that threat influences the political and military leadership, and in turn, the national policy, in formulating the objective and ultimate strategy. (3:28; 20:123) This analysis will use the framework to show how various factors influenced the development of the strategy of the CBO, why that strategy was used, and the reasons for its successes and its failures. You need gave any three is fluenced by the case of the case

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#### SECTION II

# CONFLICT AND CAMPAIGN BACKGROUND

Morald War II began September 1, 1935, when Germany invaded Poland, and ended September 2, 1945, with the signing of peace accords abroad the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay. The genesis of the conflict centered on the ethnocentric policy concepts formulated by Adolph Hitler when he became Chancellor of Germany in 1933 (14:26; 15:566.574)

In the years preceding the war, Hitler's racist ideology and his doctrine of acquiring space (land) to support what he viewed as the superior race focused the attention of Germany primarily or Poland. Russia, Austria and France. Germany's world trade and naval ambitions also posed a direct threat to Great Britain.

(14:27-31) An admirer of Mussolini's fascist agenda. Hitler formed an alliance with Italy, with an eye toward aiding Italy in its expansionist program and gaining Italian support in the German annexation of Austria and the conquering of other European states. (15:579) Within two years after its invasion of Poland.

Germany was at full-scale war against the Allied powers.

including Russia. France and England Who? Wheth. Who Puls And Puls

After the direct attack by the Axis, the United States entered the war in support of the Allied coalition of powers. It is fair to say that overall military doctrine of the Allied powers in World War II was based in significant part. if not wholly, upon the policy announced by President Roosevelt that the

Allies would insist upon unconditional surrender from the Axis powers. This reportedly was an unpremeditated comment made at a press conference; a remark which some have criticized as being careless and politically motivated, and one which initiated a policy liable to prolong the war. (12:151; see also, 6:9)

Regardless of one's view as to whether the President's comment was careless or policy well thought out. it became the overriding Allied aim. (6:4)

Since the American national interest required the survival of Great Britain as a great power, one of the key strategic purposes of the United States was that initial efforts toward Japan would be limited to containment and harassment until Germany was defeated. (6:3.5) Limitations of space preventained detailed discussion here of the overall air, ground and maritime strategy of the entire war, but it is sufficient for the purposes of the analysis to note that:

The Allied offensive in Europe was to include economic pressure through blockade, a sustained air offensive against German military power. early defeat of Italy, and the buildup of forces for an eventual land offensive against Germany. As rapidly as possible, the Allies were to achieve "superiority of air strength over that of the enemy, particularly in long-range striking forces " (5:209; quotes in original)

Achieving long-range striking air supariority over Germany was to be accomplished primarily through strategic bombing. a (then) new technique of warfare defined by General Carl Spaatz. one of the leading air commanders in World War II and first Chief of Staff of the autonomous United States Air Force. as, "an

independent air campaign, intended to be decisive, and directed against the essential war-making capacity of the enemy. (19:20)

In Surope that air campaign was carried out through the CBO.

a product of a directive issued as the result of the conference
held in 1943 in Casablanca. At this conference, U.S. President
Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill
and the Combined Chiefs of Staff of the American and British
armed services announced that they had, in essence, established a
formula for ending the war. (12:151)

Whether the CBO itself was "decisive" is to this day the subject of some disagreement, but in fact, the effort was frustrated to one degree or another by various factors, including, among others, delays in obtaining adequate long-range escort fighter support, decisions by political and top level military leaders to invade North Africa to ensure control of the Mediterranean, differing interpretations of the Casablanca Directive, and differences between the United States and British eitmen as to targeting and methods of bombing (5:13, 24, 32, 86; 8:136, 139; see also, 18:H12)

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What is it about?

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In addition to ensuring the survival of Great Britain (6:1) clearly the American national interest in preventing Axis influence, if not expansion, in the Western Hemisphere was a When for prime factor which shaped national policy and the objective of the war. The interest was truly national in scope, held by virtually every American man, woman and child. As expressed by one who was a child during the war: "In our vivid expectation, FLA BLITCH losing World War II would mean being occupied ... Even if we were Penson not taken over, we had an only somewhat less horrendous anxiety - 17L that we would be bombed . the more accurate fear of losing the war itself...was supplanted as a parsonal preoccupation by a kind of monomeniacal focus on the war and the drive to win it "(7:H5)

# Is the National Military Strategy Tailcred to Meet the National Political Objectives?

After considering the national interests and policy objectives that would be served by military action. the Casablanca Directive appeared to be straightforward: "[Thel progressive destruction and dislocation of the German military, Montes industrial and economic system, and the undermining of the morale of the German people to a point where their capacity for armed resistance is fatally weakened " (9:252) The intent of the Casablanca Directive was not so obviously expressed, however, as Abulhork evidenced by the fact that by the time the Directive was adopted by the Combined Chiefs of Staff on May 18, 1943, a sentence had At, Goth! been added. apparently to clarify what was meant by "fatally weekened": "This is construed as meaning so weakened as to GILMIFEANCE? permit initiation of final combined operations on the Continent. CHET'S BULK TO (9:257)

In an accempt to clarify "fatally weakened," the added sentence created more interpretations and raised further doubts as to the basic strategic purpose of the CBO. (9:257) However, the American strategy and supporting operations focused on those aspects of the Directive that targeted "the progressive destruction and dislocation of the German military. industrial and accommic system. . . as a path to the fatal weakening" through the use of selective daytime precision bombing. (9:257) The CBO was executed to achieve the overriding goal of the total defeat of the enemy through the use of both daytime and nighttime LUAS THIS BY DESIGNADE LEXILT OF CONTROPUSE? bombing--round the clock. (5:10; 19:121)

# What are the Limits of Military Power?

The Americans initially supported the CBO for political President Roosevelt felt that American isolationism would be overcome through the low casualties and relatively low costs offered by the bomber alternative (14:102-105) However, 74:515 the full impact of the Allied resources was depleted. or at least  $\mu_{i}$ delayed, by the diversion into North Africa in lake 1942 which INFO N CEO WE committed many heavy bombers intended for use in Europe. {9:271; is totic 740 550 unacceptable heavy losses during unescorted daylight bombing truns, despite changes in combat tactics (10:231) This problem to the unacceptable heavy losses during unescorted daylight bombing truns, despite changes in combat tactics (10:231) This problem to the unacceptable to begin escorting large daylight raids into the unit was march 1944 before there were sufficient than the unestangs available to begin escorting large daylight raids into the heart of Germany (10:231)

Additionally, the strategic air forces were frustrated by
the requirement to divert efforts to targets not considered vital
to the German war economy, such as German submarine bases along who will
the French coast. (14:116; 10:231; 13:153) Taking the resources plocal fit
of the Allies in mind. the resources of Germany were targeted
cf the Allies in mind. the resources of Germany were targeted
according to a set of established priority targets (9:251). The fitt
goal was to arrast the German strengths with carefully planned
strategies utilizing the combined forces and resources of the
Allied forces

# What are the Alternatives?

What if the goal to arrest the German strengths according to the prescribed plans failed? Although there were operation plans staff studies, war game scenarios and solutions, these were all based upon conjecture and speculation. (3:27) Blueprints were drawn up stipulating in detail the location, movement, and preferred courses of action for vast numbers of men, ships, planes, tanks, guns, and supplies. (3:27) Nevertheless, the superior strategist must above all else be flexible. (3:27) The

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WHE PROCE CBO was executed principally in three phases during 1943 and range bombing runs were provided, there were unacceptable losses 1944. (8:146) Until adequate escort fighter protection for long Although the CEO inflicted immense damage to most of the places HE WHE attacked, the German war economy was relatively unaffected. (5:113; 8:146) Further. although the weight of bombs dropped on for Germany in 1943 was five times more than the year before. German () A) armaments production actually increased by 50 per cent. (8:153)

Such facts do not necessarily suggest the CBO was a failure. Allied strategic bombing diverted an enormous amount of German manpower and material which otherwise could have been used on the Eastern and Western fronts. (8:183) In so doing, as stated by -Major General Hansell, at the very least the CBO provided the sine qua non for the invasion of Europe (9:126) WHY ME THIS NECESSAL

# How Strong is the Home front?

The societal values and national resources of each ally in a coalition of powers provide input to the political leadership developing the policy which governs the military and determines For both the war in general and the CEO campaign. sufficiently similar that they may be fairly considered to be The SAME Those societal values had a direct influence on the BoMBINY national resources available to conduct the war and the CBO CERMAN Civilian life in World War II was "one unbroken CITIES stretch of national resolve and sacrifice" which created what has IMPACT ON

BUTHLINE? CES

colossus " (11:H6; see also. 7:114) As one observer noted: "By AK FL been described as "an unmatched economic and technological IT IS SMYS war's end, U.S. plants were turning out 60.000 warplanes and a MHAY PHILE thousand cargo ships a year...in all, the U.S. war effort MATO GO produced 295.601 aircraft, 71,060 ships, 86.388 tanks. This MITH miracle of production, as much as manpower using the weapons c60? coming off the lines, won the war " (11:H7) Although the numbers may differ, the societal values of English citizens had a similar er fruis impact on British national resources available for the war but bifferent! WHY? DEVELOP! of This Undoubtedly those inputs led the overall and the CBO campaign. American and British political leadership to develop the resolute of policy for the total defeat of their enemies BKT IN Sifferent Does Today's Strategy Overlook Points of Difference and Exaggerate Points of Likeness Between Past and Present?

Theories of air power were under constant development after world war I No power "ignored, or could afford to ignore, the south of air power " (14:18; 16:20-25) The Axis threat impacted military leadership thinking on force structure, technology and doctrine American doctrine adopted the untested principles underlying the mass-bombing strategies of Mitchell and Douhet-"that in modern total war, civilians and armed forces were inseparably linked in national war machines." (16:33)

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#### SECTION IV

# AIR CAMPAIGN EXECUTION

# Air Campaign Plan

both the tactical and strategic level (2: 214) The CBO Plan concluded that "the destruction and continued neutralization of some sixty (60) targets would gravely impair and might paralyze the western axis war effort " (9: 255) From the original potential target list. six systems. comprising seventy-six precision targets, were selected. They included as principal objectives the following facilities: German aircraft industry; submarine construction yards and bases; ball bearings; oil. Whether synthetic rubber and tires; and. military transport vehicles: (9: WHAT 1955)

# Air Campaign Phases and Dates

The strategic air war in Europe has been described as having limited of four phases: first. during 1942 as the U.S. attempted to organize its air effort; second. during 1943 and the first helf of 1944. establishing allied air superiority and paving the way for a successful cross-Channel invasion (800 U.S. heavy bombers on hand by July. 1192 by October and 1746 on hand by January 1944); and finally. Efter June 1944, as a purely strategic air campaign in support of the Allied invasion (2702 U.S. heavy bombers on hand) (9:255; 10:228) These last two phases of the strategic air war in Europe began to combine the

ectivities of the United States and England in a coordinated effort to destroy the German military, industrial, and economic system as well to fatally weaken and undermine German morale and resistance. Could?

# Forces and Targets

The primary forces used in the CBO were the RAF Bomber

Command flying the Lancaster. the 3-24 "Liberator." and B17

"Flying Fortress" of the American Eighth Air Force. Consistent with their air warfare philosophy, the British had developed the with their air warfare philosophy, the British had developed the large Lancaster for heavy night bombing, while the American bombing. Why The hombers were designed and built for precision daytime bombing.

(19; 121)

In January 1943, the Army Air Forces had only 12 heavy bombardment groups and the maximum strength of 62 heavy bombar groups was attained in May 1944. The total of first-line B-17s and B-24s deployed against Garmany Increased from 413 in January 1943 to a maximum of 5.072 in March 1945. (5:77) The PAF Bombar Command strength increased from 515 light, medium, and heavy bombars in January 1943 to a total of 1.069 in April 1945. (5:77)

The first raid of the CBO took place on August 17, 1942 with 12 B-17s attacking the French city of Rouen dropping 18.5 tons of hombs. This was followed two days later with an attack on Abbeville. (1: 83-84) By sarly October 1942. American forces had flown 13 missions against German targets in France. Belgium and Holland. On October 9, 1942. American forces launched 108

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bombers including 3-17s and 3-24s against Lille. Although the Allied invasion of North Africa cost the CBO nearly 100 planes. Stracks continued that Fall or submarine facilities. However, by the end of 1942, the daylight offensive had flown only 27 bitto missions with not one bomb dropped on Garman soil (1:85-86)

Enough with 740 RAF bombers beginning the attack followed by 68 ASM
E-17s and then 722 RAF bombers on the next wave. These actions
were repeated days later and the American forces attacked the
German naval base at Irondheim as a diversion. Pressing on
preparing for the Allied invasion of Europe. In August 1943.
three massive U.S. raids took place on Ploesti (oil refineries).
Regensburg (Messerschmitt plant) and Schweinfurt (ball bearings)
On August 17. 1943. RAF bombers attacked the city of PeenemundeSuters (Allied invasion of Burdet in Pressing on Control of PeenemundeSuters).

WHY?

Schweinfurt with 291 B-17s and again suffered severe losses

After this. General Eaker halted American raids deep into Germany forbult while the RAF continued its night bombing attacks on November WHAT 18, 1943, the British launched the campaign known as the Battle of Britain lasting four and one-half months including 35 major Connect of Britain lasting four and one-half months including 35 major of Britain 18 mular of Think you MEDN.

Taids using an average of more than 500 bombers per mission.

Nineteen of the raids were directed against German cities with 16 missions against Berlin itself (1: 135-13)

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As Major General Orvil Andersch stated: "If you will only let experience be your teacher, you can have any damn lesson you want " (5:75) An analysis of the Anglo-American Combined Bomber Offensive in Europe during World War II clearly shows that force structure, air war doctrine and technology all affected the ciming and ability to attain the objective of the CEO.

destruction of the enemy as cheaply as possible. With this objective romes the realization that this goal could only be achieved by combined operations between the Army. Navy. and the Air Forces (14:203; 5:75) The Allied forces practiced a gameral air strategy involving the pursuit of all four major aspects of air doctrine simultaneously; air defense. strategic bombing.

Although the concept of strategic warfare had been advanced

prior to the CBO. the scope of this operation and the general "strict" adherence to its underlying plans resulted in the overwhelming success of allied forces. (9:273)

WHAT WAS BIL-WEEK? HOW WAS GAF DEFEATED? HOW DIS CBO SUPPLET OFFICE OFFICES? WHAT WAS THE -P-51? IT'S ROLE? WHEN DID CODEND? WHY? DID CBO EVER ACHIEVE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES ? WHEN? obviously A LOT LEFT Whereles -AND NOT MINOR BETAILS EITHER! MARGINAL SECTION AT BEST!

#### SECTION V

#### AIR CAMPAIGN EVALUATION

#### Objective |

The military strategist uses the principles of war to analyze military actions through the use of an operational framework (20:123; 21:213-215) The strategic military objective of the CPO was. according to the Directive. the "fatal weakening" of the German military system to allow for the allied invasion of Europe. (9:258) While there was some confusion over the meaning of the Directive. General Arnold welcomed the plan as it allowed him to "fight off the demands of naval and military commanders in other theaters for more and more planes. and get his heavy with them to bombers concentrated in Europe." (6:51) Moreover. Strategic with the plan allowed Allied Forces to selectively destroy those allowed elements which were most vital to Germany's war potential. and to penetrate deep into Germany to destroy those elements wherever they were located. (19:276)

OFFENSIVE NOT BASED ON YOUR HOUT"

One could reasonably question whether all efforts of the offensive were directed roward a clearly defined common goal given the diversion of resources to tactical targets and the subsequent effect on attainment of the objective. (9:256) The diversion of forces to the Mediterranean resulting from political pressure resulted in only 800 bombers or 65% of the planned English buildup being available (9:251) Moreover, approximately

Europe were diverted from the primary targets of the CBO and applied to other targets South. Did CBD TAKE THE OFFICIAL BIRSHIP BY

In the context of overall strategy, the U.S. should have committed the majority of its national power to those regions where the threat to vital security interests is greatest.

(20:125) The CBO clearly evidenced the fact that strategic combing is the most powerful instrument of war through "its capacity to bring all its forces from widely distributed bases ATAMES, simultaneously to focus on single targets. Such concentration of powerful combat power has never been possible before." (15:276-277)

As General Starry stated: °[I]n the strategic sense, this

principle has three interrelated dimensions—flexibility.

mobility and memeuverability." (20:127) Although strategic

bombing has this principle as its basis, the CBO in its greatest

sense failed to capitalize on this principle given the delay in

the delivery of heavy bombers, the diversion of forces to North

Africa and errors with respect to the priority given to various

target systems (6:92; 9:260-264; 17:56)

### <u>Security</u>

Maneuvel

Security enhances flexibility by reducing vulnerability to hostile acts. influence or surprise. (20:128) Allied forces suffered heavy losses during the campaign due to technological

METARAL-WHAT? SPECIFICS PLEASE!

advances made by the Garman war machine as evidenced by the heavy losses suffered by American forces at Ploesti and Peenemunde. The early warning network developed by the Germans assured the loss of the element of surprise during these operations. (1:131-133) Perhaps more importantly, the Germans modified their tactics ultimately halting American bombing within Germany during the THESE TWO DON'T TIVE! WHICH IS? Fall of 1943 Spuff!

The ability to strike the enemy without observation creates opportunities. The CEO clearly took Germany by surprise given the unprecedented rapid deployment of \$ 5 combat forces into England ( More importantly, the initial) success (enjoyed by the Allied bomber offensive was due in large part to the glement of \_\_\_\_\_ surprise fully utilized by General Eaker. Souther?

# Unity of Command

"For every objective, there should be unity of effort under one responsible commander." (20:137) In October 1941. Gameral Speatz had formally proposed that GHQ be eliminated and that overall command be delegated to the Army Chief of Steff. The Air War Plans Division proposed that "coordinate ground, air, and naval services be created, with unity of command to be secured by William a common head of all armed services, who would report directly to " (5:53) Thus, unity of command could be the President P19124 This plan was rejected despite General Marshall's belief that "there must be one man in command of the entire

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theater--air. ground and ships " (E:64) The Arcadia conference ultimately answered the question by establishing the Combined Chiefs of Staff, a composite organization of the British chiefs of staff and their American counterparts DID THEY CYPLUK LUM HOLANDIAL 7

# Economy of Force

There is much debate as to whether the CBO defines the principle of Economy of Force due to the diversion of assets previously mentioned. While strategic bombing itself allows the capacity to concentrate on a limited number of vital targets rather than dispersing its force on objectives of secondary importance, the Allies failed to appraciate or follow this principal by diverting forces. delaying forces. and diverting effort to secondary targets. (5: 260: 20:275)

# Simplicity

In both the strategic and tactical sense. plans should be as simple and direct as the situation will allow. (20:128) The CBO PS MORE TO AND 1-12 WHAT in its simplest form was a "Capability Plan" prescribing what were should be done to achieve the objective with forces already committed to production (9:251) While the Casablanca Directive did much to clarify confusion about the Objective. "it did not completely clear the air." (9:251) While initially simple with respect to phasing and targets, the plans were seriously out of phase with the intended timing with a resulting delay in attainment of the overall objective. (9:258)

YOU COVER ALL NINE POFWARE WHICH IS MINIMAL BUT ALL LACK DEPTH!

#### SECTION VI

## SUMMARY AND STRATEGIC/DOCTRINAL IMPLICATIONS

#### Sunnary

That the planners of the 1942-1945 Anglo-American Combined Bomber Offensive (CBO) during World War II selected a strategy of methodical bombing of Germany on an enormous scale is an However, whether that strategy uncontroverted fact of history was selected merely to weaken Germany so as to ensure the success of OVERLORD, the great cross-Channel attack in 1944, or to bring about the total destruction of the whole military, industrial and economic system. as well as the morale of the German people is yet today the subject of some interpretation. The Casablanca Directive, stating, among other things the objectives of the campaign. was subject to differing interpretations when it was written, and it remains so today. Thus, the reason the strategy was salected for this campaign and whether the CBO was successful depends upon one's view of the purpose eraied in the Casablanca WHATIS YOUR VIEW? THIS SOUNDS LIKE A POLITICIANS POSITION. Did the CEO itself bring about overwhelming defeat of AAAAA

Did the CBO itself bring about overwhelming defeat or AND School Germany? Although the writings of both Generals Hansell and With Your speatz reflect the view that Allied air power was decisive in the Assessive in Western Europe, modern historians have reached divergent conclusions about not only the CBO, but also air power in general, and the overall impact on the war. Whatever disagreement there may be regarding the "decisiveness" of the

CBO. however, there seems to be unanimous agreement among all historical analysts that the CBO was certainly a significant factor in determining the outcome of the war in Europe Further.

ONE IS THE GUEST WHAT IN YOUR DIEN? YOU NEWS IN INTER !! I one views the objective of the CBO as making possible as invasion of the continent, it can be seen as nothing less than an overwhelming success

Although there appears to be no real consensus as to the / THS/15 Do MISM-LASUY.

ultimate purpose of the CBO. it is reasonable to conclude that the campaign strategy of sustained. massive day and night bombing of Germany by British and American heavy bombers was selected to weaken the German morale and war making ability to an extent to ensure the success of the cross-channel invasion. For the first time in the history of warfare, such a strategy was not only possible to implement, but its success could be realistically envisioned and, more importantly, attained, given relatively "strict" adherence to the principles of war as previously discussed

# Docsrinal Implications

Although the concept of air warfare was not entirely new--it had been around for at least 25 years--the doctrines for the application of the air arm of military power were still evolving That evolution was shaped not only by changes in perceived growing threats to national interest, but also in large measure by increased technology. Aviation science and engineering were not so advanced in World War I to enable the production of long-

range heavy sircraft. let alone convince, or even influence. cop level military leadership to begin thinking in terms of strategic bombing

that had changed The newly developed technology enabling the production of the British Lancaster and the American B-17 and B-24 and ultimately the long-range P51 ascort fighter, provided the opportunity for Anglo-American political and military leaders to shift paradigms of military thinking to include strategic bombing as a viable strategy OR NOT ( Can American To bicetive)

Although the RAF was established as an independent arm of the British military in World War II. American airman within the Army Pir Corps were still fighting for an autonomous air force. Decisive or not as to the outcome of the war in Europe. at the vary least, the CBO represented the realization of the dreams of American airman who sough to vindicate their faith in an autonomous military air arm and independent air warfare based on bombing

Although perhaps not the primary factor, surely the success of the CBO was a significant factor in the ultimate decision in 1947 to establish the United States Air Force as an independent service, coequal with the Army and Navy within what we now know as the Department of Defense.

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